

# Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

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## Against H-tests Prayer and conscience vigil in Washington

By CHARLES WALKER

A PRAYER and Conscience Vigil, in protest against continual testing of nuclear weapons, is being held during November in Washington, DC. It is sponsored by a number of peace and pacifist organisations.

Participants include not only members of pacifist groups but college students, members of local churches and concerned individuals from many community organisations.

The Vigil is to be carried on daily. A daily observance is to be held in front of the White House and a poster parade conducted at the headquarters of the Atomic Energy Commission. Participants have been visiting government officials, ministers, editors, students, key organisational leaders, etc. They are also given regular briefings on how to work more effectively on this issue in their local communities.

### SPONSORING GROUPS

Headquarters for the Vigil is 1705 "N" Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Lawrence Scott, former Peace Secretary for the Chicago office of the American Friends Service Committee, is co-ordinator of the project. Charles Walker, Middle Atlantic Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, is project manager. Chairman of the Planning Committee is George Willoughby, with Dr. Albert Edward Day as Treasurer.

Sponsoring organisations (more have been included since this writing) are the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Friends Peace Committee, Non-violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, War Resisters League, and the Women's International League For Peace And Freedom. Other pacifist groups, though not formally sponsoring, are co-operating.

### AROUSE CONSCIENCE

The purpose of the Vigil is to help arouse the conscience of the nation on the dangers and the evils of continuing nuclear tests. The Atomic Energy Commission has already announced another series of tests to be held in the Pacific, starting in April. This announcement came, significantly, just at the opening of the Assembly sessions of the United Nations, where the test issue had already been scheduled to be taken up during disarmament discussions.

Those sponsoring the Vigil envisage not only making an impact on the nation's capital but stimulating those who attend to more effective and zealous work on this question.

The project is scheduled for the entire month of November, culminating in special programmes on the Thanksgiving week-end. Those who plan to participate should write Lawrence Scott, 1705 "N" St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

### Why have enemies?

"The Channel tunnel is a wild-cat scheme and I am wholeheartedly opposed to it. Strategically it would weaken Britain, and why give up one of our great assets—our island—and make it easier for our enemies?"—Field-Marshal Montgomery, Trafalgar Day, Oct. 22, 1957.

## BBC to commemorate Dick Sheppard

STUART MORRIS TO  
BROADCAST

Peace News Reporter

THE BBC have invited Stuart Morris, the General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, to speak on the closing years of Dick Sheppard's life in Sunday's programme "Dick Sheppard: The Human Parson" (Home Service, 7.45 p.m. to 8.25 p.m.).

It was on the last Sunday in October twenty years ago (Oct. 31, 1937) that Dick Sheppard, a leading British pacifist in the 'twenties and 'thirties, died.

### "Prophets of Our Time"

"Early this year we approached the BBC with the suggestion that the twentieth anniversary of Dick Sheppard's death in October would be a suitable occasion for a feature broadcast about him, and with the offer of a script by Vera Brittain," Stuart Morris told Peace News on Monday.

"In April the chief assistant to the Director-General replied that a special talk about Dick Sheppard in isolation would not be appropriate, but that he would be among the first considered if they should ever run a series of 'Prophets of Our Time.'

"The suggestion had however been passed to all departments concerned, and a fortnight ago Radio Times asked to borrow a photo of Dick. I then learnt for the first time that a broadcast about him was to be included in the 'Way of Life' series on October 27.

### Letter to the Press

"The Religious Section had decided that religious broadcasting owed so much to Dick Sheppard as its pioneer that the twentieth anniversary of his death could not go unnoticed by them. I got into touch with them to ensure that Dick Sheppard's pacifism and its expression in the PPU should have a place."

Stuart Morris, who will be speaking towards the end of the programme, will comment on the historic letter to the Press in which Dick Sheppard asked the men of Britain to send him a postcard if they were prepared never again to take part in war. It was the response by thousands of men to this letter which led to the foundation of the Peace Pledge Union.

The programme, which was being recorded on Wednesday as Peace News went to press, will end with a summing up by the Dean of St. Paul's. The narrator will be the Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, the Rev. Austen Williams.

See also Sybil Morrison—page 8

# Make this Britain's policy: DISARMAMENT BY EXAMPLE

## Two MPs urge new method as Parliament reassembles

WITH Parliament reassembling next week, two MPs, Frank Allaun and Emrys Hughes, write for Peace News about the Windscale accident and the continued British manufacture of H-bombs.

Both MPs urge that their party, and their country should give a lead to the world by disarming.

"Only disarmament by example can save us now," writes Frank Allaun.

"Every day brings news which shows that a foreign policy based on H-bomb strategy is the direct road to suicide," writes Emrys Hughes on the back page.

### We have been warned

By FRANK ALLAUN MP

IF an accident as serious as that at Windscale can occur in a carefully-controlled establishment it should warn us about the danger of continuing hydrogen bomb explosions, where the results are far less foreseeable and on a thousand times greater scale.

Bit by bit it is being revealed that the accident up in Cumberland had far more widespread effects than were at first disclosed. According to tests by the Kodak Company in London, 300 miles away, radioactivity in the atmosphere at that spot was considerably higher than the normal after the Windscale "mishap."

It so happens that I and other parents were this week invited to the harvest festival at my daughter's infant school. When I saw the rows of innocent little faces and the display of harvest fruit I could not help thinking of what man was doing to his harvest, of the thousands of milk pails being emptied into the sewers at that moment.

And of something far worse. The British Government is now preparing for a further

### WINDSCALE: IT WAS PART OF AN H-TEST

A MILITARY experiment "in connection with the recent thermo-nuclear test explosions near Christmas Island" is suggested by The Times as the possible cause of the accident at Britain's atomic explosives plant at Windscale.

Early this week the Milk Marketing Board was still pouring between 25,000 and 30,000 gallons of radio-active milk into the sewers daily. The value of the milk going down the drains was estimated at about £4,000 a day.

series of hydrogen bomb explosions at Christmas Island. The scientists have some differences among themselves about the extent of the effects, but all the reputable ones agree that there must be some effect.

Our governments are monkeying with the fate of our children and our children's children. I believe that, under no circumstances, have they the right to do so.

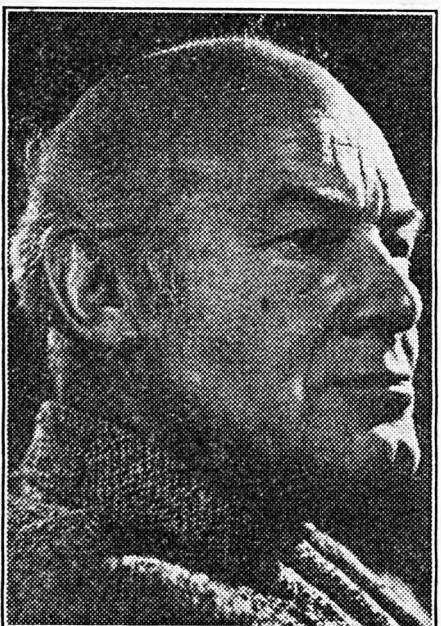
Which brings me to the much-discussed decisions of the Labour Party conference at Brighton. Three out of four constituency Labour Parties now favour unilateral action not only to stop the H-bomb tests, but their manufacture, too.

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"... but I went naked into the conference room—and won, Nye . . ."



COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL

IN August of this year the Minister of Defence (then in Australia) made a statement about defence. He said that the Government had—I quote his words—taken “a very bold step in deciding not to do the impossible.”

I think that is worth a moment's reflection.

Mr. Sandys continued:

“We decided not to defend the whole country, but to defend only our bomber bases. I must pay tribute to the people of Great Britain for the readiness with which they have accepted these harsh but inescapable facts.”

I submit that these statements could not unfairly be rephrased as follows:

“There is no known method of defending the UK against H-bomb attack. We must concentrate our defences to defend our air-fields and what the public must realise is that whilst they are being incinerated—or very shortly afterwards if all goes well—a very large number of Russians will be in close pursuit to wherever your after-life may be.”

These facts are certainly harsh, but are they inescapable? I daresay some of my audience came here expecting to hear a rather cranky series of proposals by someone who was possibly a moral pacifist. I respect, but do not share, the moral view of the pacifists. If a statement on my part that I have reached the conclusion (as a result of reflections about the nature of war which first took shape in about 1925) that orthodox thinking about war and defence is radically wrong is to label myself a crank—then I am a crank.

### Thought-barrier

But although certain suggestions I shall offer you may sound a bit unusual they are certainly not impossible, and if the Government has decided on the very bold step “not to do the impossible,” it is reasonable to ask them to be equally bold in their approach to the possible.

We have all been brought up to accept as gospel certain conventional ideas about war. As I believe we should take a completely fresh look at the whole business, this involves a mental process of extreme difficulty which I call “breaking through the thought-barrier.”

Reflect that if a hundred years ago I had said in this building to officers of the Crimean War: “In a century men will fly at 600 miles an hour, transmit images of events into their homes, have electronic machines that solve immense problems instantly, have inter-continental rockets and earth satellites, etc., etc.,” it would have been hard to get them to take one seriously unless they could have broken through the thought-barrier.

One of my teachers at Camberley Staff College said to me: “Always remember that the thinkable is possible.”

If we misunderstand the nature of war, we shall misunderstand its objects. To misunderstand the object of war is a national disaster.

## The alternative to the nuclear deterrent: **NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE**

By Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall

AS reported in Peace News last week, Sir Stephen King-Hall delivered a lecture in London on Oct. 9 on “The Alternative to the Nuclear Deterrent: Non-violent Resistance.”

It is a lecture by a Naval man to fellow officers in the Navy, Army and Air Force; a number of former Commanders-in-Chief were in his audience at the Royal United Services Institution in Whitehall.

While there will be many of Sir Stephen's points with which our readers will disagree, and a number of phrases such as “non-violent warfare” and “the inconvenience of military operations” which strike a jarring note, we believe it important that his thinking on this subject should be widely read and discussed.

Throughout Britain this winter many study groups are grappling with the subject of unilateral disarmament and

The word war comes from an old word *weare*, meaning conflict, or strife, not specifically of a physical character. All conflict between men originates in a clash of ideas. Action is the child of thought, as thunder is the child of lightning. Only ignorant people are more afraid of the thunder than the lightning, which is the significant phenomenon.

### The nature of war

War is a state of relationship between sovereign States when there is a difference of opinion or clash of ideas between governments. This difference may become so acute that it leads to violent action, i.e., military operations; that is not the beginning of the war nor does it follow that a military victory is the end of the war.

War should not be thought of as merely operations. But it usually is. Consequently military operations have become regarded as ends in themselves and not means to an end. Since about 1939 the idea that if there were no bangs going on we were “at peace” has become so manifestly untrue that we have had to invent qualifying degrees of war, i.e., Cold War, Tepid War, Hot War, Political Warfare, Economic Warfare. By

### Non-violent resistance in action

Bayard Rustin, the American pacifist leader who went to Montgomery, Alabama, and became the Rev. Martin Luther King's right-hand-man in the non-violent struggle to end the colour bar on

At one stage of the struggle, Ben Mays and I had occasion to visit Dr. Martin Luther King. We received a message to say that at 11.30 p.m. that night the Ku-Klux-Klan would march through the city. The Klan would expect the Negroes to hide, with fear and trembling, as they had done in the past, or, because of the lateness of the hour, expect them to be in their beds asleep. We considered carefully what should be done by the Negro population. We wondered what Gandhi would have done, and decided it must be something unexpected.

We sent a message to the population saying, “Turn on every light in your house, and your porch lights. Dress your children in their Sunday best; be outside your houses and together we shall welcome the Klansmen!” This they did, and when the hooded Ku-Klux-Klan procession arrived they were greeted by almost the entire Negro population, singing spiritual after spiritual. The astonished Klansmen paraded for only a short distance. The procession then disintegrated, its members disappearing into various side streets.

NOT one of the Negro leaders in Montgomery was a pacifist when the struggle began. In the middle of the fight only one had become a pacifist. At the end a second had become a pacifist. But many of the common people have become pacifists. When we present the total impact of pacifist philosophy to people in a world of force and violence, we may be asking the impos-

1965 we may be hearing something about non-violent warfare.

What is the object of war? If your instinctive reply to this is: “To defeat the enemy forces” you are still on the wrong side of the thought-barrier...

The object of war is to change the enemy's mind. Lose sight of that fact and you will get into serious trouble because your strategy will be directed to a false object; so will your preparation for the contingency of military operations.

When there is no substantial conflict of ideas between the UK and its enemy there is total victory, which is not at all the same thing as military victory. When there is total victory there is real peace.

The operation of changing a mind can be undertaken by two methods, or a combination of the two.

• One is the operation of conversion and persuasion and psychological attack. This is the Battle of the Brains.

• The other is the imposition of physical pressure on the body carrying the enemy mind. This is seen in its simplest form in the schoolboy who twists another boy's arm and says: “Admit my father is more important than yours.”

the city's buses, described his experiences recently. They are reported in the current issue of *The War Resister* (1s. from 88, Park Ave., Enfield, Mddlx.) from which the following extracts are taken.

sible. It is important for us to create situations within which they can learn by doing. The strategy of non-violence ought to be greatly emphasised. The principle of non-violence will be accepted only when the strategy has been adopted.

It is interesting that the most violent men in Montgomery finally became those who could be most relied upon to act non-violently. At first many Negroes were fearful, and had collected several arsenals in the city.

We called together the most violent young men, not to tell them it was not nice to have and use guns, but to point out to them the immediate social consequences of having them. It was a strategic discussion. We developed a technique of involving them in the core of the non-violent struggle. About a thousand bicycles had been collected all over the State and sent to Montgomery and parked in a large field. We persuaded these young men that for the immediate good of the community there was nothing more important than to protect these bikes without violence. They did so, and were finally prepared to dump their guns in the river. I can scarcely imagine what would have ensued had the police caught us on that drive to the river, in possession of a truck load of weapons.

IF Montgomery can become the symbol of a people striving for a better society, rather than simply for their rights, then truly the success of the bus boycott will prove to be a victory for all mankind.

unarmed defence. The Fellowship of Reconciliation has sixty groups at work. The Peace Pledge Union has organised a Midlands Area Conference at Crich, near Matlock, for Nov. 9 and 10 under the leadership of Harold F. Bing, F.R.Hist.S., Chairman of the War Resisters' International, and in Colchester on Nov. 16 Quakers and the local Fellowship of Reconciliation have an Area Conference on “The Unarmed Approach to the Nuclear Age.”

The National Peace Council, the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends (Quakers) and the Toldas Group are also actively engaged in encouraging the study of unilateral disarmament.

Recommended reading on this subject includes the following pamphlets: “Unarmed” (1s.); “Resisting Evil without Arms” (6d.); “Which Way Freedom” (1s.) and the Penguin Special “Is Peace Possible?” (2s. 6d.), all obtainable from Peace News.

The advantages of the Battle of Brains methods are manifest. The results are likely to be more permanent and, if victory can be achieved here we avoid the inconvenience of military operations; inconveniences which, as we shall see, have become intolerable.

I must now skip three chapters in my complete study of this problem, chapters in which I examine the statements I have just made in relation to events 1900—1957. I also show why it is that once military operations begin the object gets lost sight of—so we get the absurdity of unconditional surrender—an announcement which might have been invented by Dr. Goebbels.

### What are we trying to defend?

We spend about £1,500,000,000 on defence. What are we trying to defend? Piccadilly Circus? Our way of life? Which way of life—the life around Piccadilly Circus? A lot of black men in Central Africa, most of whom want to see the last of us? The Kenya settlers? The English countryside? Our skins? The free Press, including the Daily Graphic? The BBC? The Archbishop of Canterbury? The institution of Parliament? The TUC and FBI? The Covent Garden market? Subsidised farmers? The nationalised industries?

After all, with British Government old Consols standing at 47 and the present state of our gold reserves, £1,500,000,000 of direct expenditure plus the indirect is a lot of money, and we ought to be sure what we mean when we say it is being spent on defence.

It can be shown that what we are trying to defend has changed with the evolution of our national history and the progress of material civilisation... has evolved by degrees from purely material considerations to more ideological purposes. Put very crudely, one can distinguish the periods of “Grab” (say 1500 to 1815), the period of “White Man's Burden” (nineteenth century), the period of “Holding on to What We've Got” (1900 to 1914), and the period of “Disinvestment” (1918—?).

The last Grab-War was the Boer War—a turning point in our policy—the 1914-18 war was partly ideological; the 1939-1945 war much more so.

Both American interventions were, very strongly, primarily ideological.

### Our way of life is the object of defence

I claim to be able to prove that the trend has been from the material to the spiritual in what we are determined to defend and so, of course, has the attack. I must refer you to my book “The Communist Conspiracy” for a fairly detailed statement of the nature of the attack which is fundamentally ideological and political with military force in reserve. That genius Lenin thoroughly understood the true nature of war and the Communists have been far more up to date than we have in their understanding to keep on conceding that they so often

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200,000 church members told:

## Don't work in defence industries

REFUSE "to submit to military conscription or to work in defence industries."

This request to their members was contained in a statement adopted by the 17th Annual Conference of the Church of the Brethren when it met in Richmond, Virginia, USA, this year.

One of the historic peace churches, the Church of the Brethren has more than 200,000 members across the USA.

While recognising that not all its members would hold the recommended beliefs and that some might feel obliged to render full or non-combatant military service, the statement went on to declare that the church "Seeks to lead its people to develop convictions against war."

"We reaffirm that our members should neither participate in war nor learn the art of war . . . the Church of the Brethren regards with sorrow and deep concern our nation's increasing movement toward a permanently militaristic outlook."

## KOREAN STUDENT BECOMES CO

KIM KYONG-TAE, a twenty-three-year-old Korean student has been sentenced to one year's imprisonment in Seoul after claiming a conscientious objection to military service.

There have been two similar cases in South Korea, where the laws do not provide for conscientious objection, according to the US National Service Board for Religious Objectors.

## TWENTY YEARS AGO



the Peace Pledge Union was started.

Perhaps it is evidence of the inherent truth of Dick Sheppard's message, which is embodied in the PPU, to find that in spite of such an early bereavement, of the shattering impact of a world war, and of all our own failings and shortcomings, DICK SHEPPARD'S WORK GOES ON AND WILL GO ON.

The BBC is paying its tribute to Dick Sheppard by including in a series of Sunday evening broadcasts on the Home Service the story of "The Human Parson" on Sunday, October 27, at 7.45 p.m. I know that many will be listening to that programme and I hope we shall all find a new sense of fellowship and a new unity of purpose in our remembrance of him that evening. If so, we will all determine to give a greater reality to those other words on our poster MAKE IT YOUR WORK TOO.

I doubt whether there was ever a time when Dick Sheppard's message was more necessary, or when the PPU had a greater responsibility for proclaiming without reservation or compromise the simple, clear direct message of the renunciation of war by the individual and the nation.

We must see to it that Dick Sheppard's work is at least not hampered by lack of money.

Listen on Sunday, renew your pledge and make a special contribution to the PPU Headquarters Fund to keep the memory of Dick Sheppard a living reality through the work which is his best memorial.

STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,150.

Amount received to date: £734.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"  
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to PPU Headquarters  
DICK SHEPPARD HOUSE  
6, Endsleigh Street London, W.C.1

## CAPRICORN PLANS MULTI-RACIAL SCHOOLS FOR CENTRAL AFRICA

From BASIL DELAINE

THE Capricorn Africa Society has a multi-racial schools plan. If the plan succeeds there will be multi-racial residential schools in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and in East Africa, inside two years.

### Positive action

A Salisbury (Southern Rhodesia) Capricornian said last week that they hoped to start two pilot schools—one in each of the two countries—within a few months.

Capricorn would like to see 150 schools of this kind in Central and East Africa producing a steady stream of adults "with real understanding of a common national purpose."

Subjects to be taught would include philosophy, physics, literature, economics, social relations and patriotism.

Kenya members hope to make a start this year and build school houses themselves working in multi-racial teams.



Looking at an anti-conscription election poster of the Social Democrats is Helmut Hertling, a leading worker in the peace movement in Hamburg.

### THE GERMAN ELECTION

## What does it mean for Germany?

By HELGA STOLLE

THE election on September 15 decided West Germany's politics for the next four years. Dr. Adenauer's party, the Christian Democratic Party, with its absolute majority in the new Parliament, will be able to pass any law (except constitutional changes) in the face of the opposition of all the other parties.

The past four years have shown that the Adenauer party has not had a strong enough democratic conscience to consider the very large number of voices against it even on such an important issue as ending conscription.

Therefore people in Germany listen very sceptically to all the solemn statements of the leaders of that party when they say that they will not misuse the voters' confidence and will observe moderation in their politics.

It is rumoured that there will be a new election law to encourage the development of a two-party system, and to secure the absolute majority of the Christian Democratic Party.

The Fundamental Law—the constitution—is a considerable limitation, however, on the arbitrariness of any single party. It contains very important basic rights of the citizens of the German Federal Republic.

And the Fundamental Law can only be changed by a two-thirds vote—that means not without the support of the Social Democrats.

Nevertheless, democracy in West Germany is in very considerable danger after this election.

Next Week: "Why did Adenauer win?" and the following week: "What now for German pacifists?"

October 25, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

## 'PRISONERS FOR PEACE DAY' World's war resisters get ready

DEMONSTRATIONS, meetings, parades and special sermons from the pulpit of a number of churches are already planned for "Prisoners for Peace Day" on Dec. 1.

More individuals and groups than before will be sending Christmas Cards to imprisoned war resisters all over the world. Preliminary reports reaching the War Resisters' International from West Germany, the USA, Norway, Israel, Denmark and Great Britain indicate that though some gaolied war resisters received 500 cards last year, the number of cards may well be doubled this year.

### CAUSE OF WONDER

Stated Arlo Tatum of the War Resisters' International:

"The flood of greetings to our imprisoned brothers gives a tremendous boost to their morale, and has a remarkable effect on prison officials. The mother of an Italian boy on last year's list (of gaoled war resisters) referred to the greetings as 'a cause of wonder and months of discussion' within the prison where her son was confined."

"This year there are 2000 before the Belgian and Italian Legislatures designed to give legal recognition to conscientious objectors. This gives us additional impetus to be active on 'Prisoners for Peace Day'."

A full list of names and addresses of imprisoned war resisters will appear in Peace News on Nov. 29 in a special "Prisoners for Peace Day" and Christmas Book number.

From Nov. 15 provisional lists can be obtained from:

WRI Headquarters, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middx.; Die Friedensrundschau, Hamburg 13, Bornstr. 6, Germany; Fellowship, Nyack, New York, USA and Pacifisten, Lysbro Skole, Silkeborg, Denmark.

### UNARMED DEFENCE PROPOSAL PUBLISHED IN NORWAY

A N article by Ketil Gjessing on Commander King-Hall's proposal for a Royal Commission or other responsible body to seriously examine the possibilities of non-violent resistance as a national defence policy was recently published in the Norwegian newspaper, Verdens Gang.

### European Economic Co-operation No. 6

### WHAT IS OEEC?

Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC). Members: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom.

OEEC is the organisation which was originally set up in 1948 to administer the European end of the Marshall Plan. The parties recognised "that their economic systems are inter-related and that the prosperity of each of them depends on the prosperity of all" and that they agreed to "develop, in mutual co-operation, the maximum possible interchange of goods and services." The central organ of OEEC is the Council, composed of Ministers or their alternates, which can only take decisions by unanimous vote. It has a large permanent staff in Paris, working on various aspects of the co-ordination of the economic policies of the member governments. Its achievements have been mainly in the field of the liberalisation of payments (through the European Payments Union) and of trade, through the reduction of quotas.

Next week: The European Payments Union.

These notes on European Economic Co-operation are taken from No. 2 of Documents on World Affairs (United World Education and Research Trust, 20 Great James St., London, W.C.1. 6d.).

Advertiser's announcement:

### A new feature in Peace News

## RELIGIOUS FLASHPOINT

Is half a loaf better than none at all? I suppose it is. Is half a religion better than none at all? I suppose it is. But we should realise that what passes for the Christian religion today is only half the story.

Throughout the past ages, and today, the Church has emphasised to the exclusion of nearly everything else, the build-up of a mass of man-made doctrine, in which to believe is a qualification, if not the hall-mark of a Christian. The Church has been concerned with defining the Nature of God and the Nature and Being of Christ: conjecturing as

to the Trinity and man's sin on the one hand and a wrathful and irreconcilable God on the other: with affirmations of out-worn creeds and countless other speculations of theology. Accordingly it has divided God's world into believers and unbelievers, the saved and the heretics and the heathen.

To many Christians this is vitally important, but is it the whole Gospel? Read the Gospels for yourself and see.

There is the other half of the gospels which the Church has forgotten. We will look at it next week.

Free literature from Wallace Hancock, Movement for a Pacifist Church  
8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.

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Subs: 6months 16s. 12 months £1 12s.

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## Syria

THE best thing in the present Turco-Syrian situation is that the General Assembly of the United Nations has accepted its Steering Committee's recommendation to discuss the whole issue.

Syrian reports over last week-end indicate that the so-called People's Resistance Movement was then issuing arms to its members at Damascus, Homs, Hama, and Aleppo.

King Saud of Arabia had sent a message to President Celal Bayar, of Turkey, on the subject of the alleged Turkish troop concentrations near the Syrian border, which Turkey, it must be noted, is denying.

The Lebanon has followed Jordan's example in declaring that "it will support Syria."

The Russian news agency, Tass, broadcast a message over Moscow radio last Friday asserting that plans for an attack on Syria had been worked out with Turkey in the course of Mr. Loy Henderson's recent journey through the Middle East. Though this will not be accepted as truth by many people, it shows how the political temperature has been rising. And to complete the picture, New York reports that the United Nations were meeting in "an atmosphere of crisis."

To us it seems probable that much of this crisis is artificial, encouraged rather than cooled down by the Great Powers. Its danger is nevertheless real, because it is always risky to play with fire.

## Khrushchov and the Social Democrats

TO a Russian reading Mr. Khrushchov's letter to Mr. Gaitskell there would surely be something noteworthy about the fact that in addition to the Governments of Western European Powers there can also be independent political parties, and that it is even possible to urge these to take a political line in opposition to that which it is thought the actual Governments are taking. To the Pole or the Hungarian the fact would be more than noteworthy; it would be likely to provoke some rather bitter comparisons.

What strikes us particularly about this approach to the Social Democratic parties is the attempt that runs through it to get on a common basis with them for the discussion of policy.

It will be remembered that after the Khrushchov de-Stalinisation speech there were repeated suggestions that there might be co-operation between Communists and the Social Democratic Parties. Nothing came of it.

In the first place, the obvious response was that a good place to begin such co-operation would be in Russia; and before the idea could be pursued very far there had been moves towards re-Stalinisation and then the tragic suppression of Hungarian freedom by Russia, after which the Russian Communists had their hands full in seeking to reassure the members of their own parties who had been revolted by this action.

On the rehabilitation of Gomulka in the Polish leadership we predicted that he would be compelled to revert to suppressive dictatorship unless he was ready to face the risk of extending freedom progressively. Dictators are likely to become prisoners of their own suppressive policies and the conditions that these have created.

We think it is highly likely that the Russian Government is in a similar position to Gomulka. It also may be seeking to liberalise conditions not only in Russia, but among the satellite peoples, including Hungary, but it cannot see a safe way to go about it.

This may possibly be the explanation of certain passages in Mr. Khrushchov's letter where he speaks approvingly of the Labour Party's "decisive stand taken last October and November for the immediate cessation of the aggression against Egypt" (with, of course, no mention of the Labour Party's declared attitude during the same period regarding the Russian aggression in Hungary).

The declaration made at the Conference of the Socialist International is referred to with approval; a statement is asked for "condemning the use of force as a means of solving unsettled issues in the Near and Middle East, and rejecting intervention in



the internal affairs of the countries of this area—a statement that is wholly on the lines of the Social Democratic outlook and coincides in the main with the repeated declarations made by the Russian Government. Then, speaking of "a certain rapprochement between the points of view held by the British Labour Party and the Soviet Communist Party," the letter suggests "that the joint efforts of our Parties could contribute to the preservation of peace in the Near and Middle East."

## The Nobel Peace Prize

DURING the past week two of the Nobel awards for 1957 have been announced: that for literature has gone to M. Albert Camus and the Peace Prize to Mr. Lester Pearson, the former Canadian Foreign Minister.

The literary awards may not always please everybody, but it is nevertheless easily possible to recognise the qualities that are being honoured; and in the present case we take pleasure in the fact that M. Camus takes his place beside Earl Russell, Mr. Eugene O'Neill and M. Francois Mauriac, and that his work is thus brought to the attention of a wider readership.

With the Peace Prize the position is different, and it is sometimes difficult to see upon what criteria the committee of five appointed by the Norwegian Parliament make their selection.

Presumably it was the line taken by Mr. Pearson on behalf of the Canadian Government during the Suez crisis and the aggression upon Egypt that has influenced the committee in the present case, but even Mr. Selwyn Lloyd has had periods when he has made speeches to the UN Assembly that

have testified to his desire for peace. On the other hand, Mr. Pearson played a leading part in founding NATO, being secretary in 1952 to its Lisbon Conference. We do not know whether the Nobel committee regard this as one of the factors which help to qualify him for the prize. If so they might consider whether any of the architects of the Warsaw Pact have a claim.

There have been recipients of the Peace Prize whose selection did not prompt the doubts raised by the award to Mr. Lester Pearson. Albert Schweitzer and Lord Boyd Orr are two such, but it seems to us that the 1947 award to the Quakers was the very best selection that the committee has made.

We should like to commend to the attention of the committee the War Resisters' International. An international body of people who have pledged themselves not in any circumstances to participate in war would seem to be worthy of consideration for the Peace Prize.

## Tailpiece

MR. CHRISTOPHER SOAMES, Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, said last week that in a global war as many ships as possible would be got out of the ports and away to sea so that they might survive the nuclear attacks. In the atomic age, it seems, men take to the boats, leaving the women and children behind.

## THE WAR OF NERVES AROUND SYRIA

THE allegations made in recent weeks in many quarters of the West that Syria has been, and still is, preparing aggressive action against Turkey does not make even half-sense, unless it is also assumed that Russia is anxious to let loose the third world war—which is so improbable as not to make half-sense either.

For without the prompt fulfilment of a Soviet pledge of all-out help, Syria would stand as much chance against Turkey (considered by many military experts in the West to have a stronger army than any in Europe) as a kitten stands against a tiger, even if Israel, in the south, were to look on in neutrality—which is another nonsensical supposition.

A Turkish invasion of Syria is equally unlikely, because she has a common frontier with Russia, and would thus have to fight on two fronts, on one of which she would have to face the crushingly greater power of the Soviets. She would then of course have the full support of the Baghdad Pact powers as well as of the United States, but this is only another way of saying that the Turks are either stupid enough to risk annihilation or willing to start the world war, or both.

Therefore, unless both the Syrians and the Turks are believed to be so blindly optimistic as to hope that their own countries would escape destruction because the great opponents would at once switch their all-in efforts against each other, we may assume that neither of them will be quite so irresponsible as to trigger off the third world war, willingly. But the danger of one or the other of them doing so accidentally as the result of a frontier incident is very real. The first point to be realised is therefore that the fate of the whole world may be determined at any moment during the next few weeks by the coolness or the impetuosity of a local military commander somewhere near the Turco-Syrian border.

By Roy Sherwood

Middle East, rejecting intervention in the internal affairs of the countries of this area, and giving up the delivery of arms to all these countries would be of great importance. We ask the executive committee of the British Labour Party to give their support to this proposal.

"On our side, we are ready, in any form agreeable to you, not excluding the possibility of a meeting of representatives of our parties, to examine any constructive proposals made by your side concerning possible ways and means for preventing the threat of war in the Near and Middle East, and preserving peace in the world. We hope that the executive committee of the British Labour Party will treat our address favourably and in consciousness of its responsibility for the cause of peace."

If Mr. Khrushchov is not a pacifist, he knows, anyway, how to give a spit-image imitation of a man wholeheartedly working for the avoidance of war. In addition to which there is every reason for believing that his desire for peace is genuine.

Bearing in mind that the impression created on the uncommitted nations is of importance, how does the West's performance compare with Russia's? Poorly.



As matters stand at the moment of writing, the only unquestionably good point to be credited to the West is the reported, but as yet unconfirmed, intention "to consider an approach to Mr. Khrushchov for new summit talks." Even that is diminished in value by the fact that summit talks have been repeatedly suggested in the past by Moscow but cold-shouldered by the West on the plea that if such talks were to be held and end in failure the situation would become worse than ever. Whatever truth there may be in such fears was less fearsome in the past than it is now. The remedy is to walk into the meeting in the firm determination that IT MUST NOT FAIL, in common duty to all humanity, since hydrogen bombs are the alternative.

Practically everything else in the West's performance has been bad, with the exception of the lesson in practical democracy given to the wide world by Mr. Gaitskell and Mr. Bevan in taking the Khrushchov letter to the Prime Minister. Most of the papers have failed to publish the full text of the letter, though talking a lot about attempts to split the solidarity of the Western countries because it was addressed to political parties instead of to their governments. The Labour Party of one of the smaller Western European countries, with more verbal courage than good sense, has seen fit to be rude in its answer to Moscow: "In view of our conviction that you are the one who, with your system of government and domination are threatening the peace, there is no basis for discussion between us."

Even that, however, reminiscent though it is of a toy dog barking at a mastiff, pales into insignificance beside Lord Hailsham's monumenally arrogant gaffe in speaking of the Khrushchov letter as "insolent, mendacious and provocative."



It may be true that Russia is manoeuvring for a foothold in Syria. In existing world conditions that is only a half-tit-for-a-whole-tat for the closeness of US bases to her territory.

The logical outcome of the present methods, in the end, is the third world war. The sooner this is realised, the sooner we may hope for a change of methods.

In the meantime it is well to ask why the Soviets, in spite of so many detestable features in their internal regime and so many unscrupulous practices in their endeavour to spread Communism to other countries, are permitted time after time to keep well ahead of the West in the competition between the two for the good opinion of uncommitted or underdeveloped countries.

Lord Hailsham, for one, might ask himself that question.

As for the letter itself, it needs a great deal of ingenuity to read aggressiveness into a document leading up to these final words:

"To achieve this aim (the preservation of peace in the Near and Middle East), a statement by Britain, the Soviet Union, the United States and France, condemning the use of force as a means of solving unsettled issues in the Near and

# THE BRIDGE ON THE RIVER KWAI

The story of the film by CLAUDE HOUGHTON, based on the screenplay written by PIERRE BOULLE, from his novel of the same title.

## THE STORY SO FAR:

*Siam 1943: British prisoners of war are working on the notorious 'death railway'. A battle of wills ensues between Japanese Colonel Saito and British Colonel Nicholson when the latter refuses to permit his officers to work on a vital bridge over the River Kwai, as the Geneva Convention expressly forbids the use of officer personnel for manual labour. Saito flings a copy of the Convention in Nicholson's face, and then has him beaten up and confined in the 'oven', a small cell not much bigger than a large kennel, leaving him there to reflect in the gruelling heat. Meanwhile, three prisoners have tried to escape. Two are shot dead by the guards, but the third, an American named Shears, reaches the shelter of the jungle. Back at the prison camp Major Clifton, the M.O., pleads with Nicholson to give in to Saito, but Nicholson's reply is firm: "I will not have an officer in my battalion working like a coolie".*

★  
  
*'The conflict of wills had ended. All external events had derived from this inner, invisible conflict'. Alec Guinness and Sessue Hayakawa in a tense scene from Columbia's "The Bridge On The River Kwai".*



## CONCLUSION

The guard appeared.

"Time."

"Please thank all concerned, Clifton."

"We'll be able to get something for you—from time to time. Good-bye, sir. Good luck."

"Many thanks."

Clifton had taken a few steps when Nicholson called.

"Yes, sir."

"Did you say that American chap, Shears, was killed trying to escape?"

"Yes."

"I did think I'd made it clear that escape was impossible."

"Time!"

Clifton walked with the guard to Saito who was waiting for them. His eyes showed anxiety. He faced Clifton.

"Well?"

"He won't give in to force. It's a question of principle."

The fingers of Saito's right hand beat a tattoo on his revolver holster.

Clifton continued firmly:

"As Medical Officer I protest against the treatment of Commanding Officer, Colonel Nicholson, D.S.O. If he dies, it would be murder."

"If he commits suicide, he is responsible."

He turned and walked away.

\* \* \*

At the same moment that Saito walked away, Shears was on the edge of the jungle, staring at an incandescent sun. Anyone seeing him would have been convinced that he was confronted by a madman—or an apparition. Behind an overgrown moustache and a long matted beard, his cracked and swollen lips moved incessantly.

He was standing in the middle of a rice paddy—his shorts were in shreds and his feet bare. His filthy body was a criss-cross of scratches—splotched with jungle sores. He began to stagger on through the paddy, looking at the vultures circling lazily overhead.

He threw up an arm in a pathetic attempt to scare the vultures, then reeled on, looking at the sky.

Two paper kites were fluttering merrily in a tropical breeze, which, if anything, emphasized the annihilating heat. Crudely painted faces were on the kites—of the kind used by natives to ward off evil spirits.

To Shears, they seemed like something in a madman's nightmare.

He stood, as if petrified, staring at them.

Then—among all the discordant noises from the jungle at the edge of the paddy—he heard a new, and far more terrible sound.

Then he realized—with crucifying terror—that he was listening to the sound of his own laughter.

He staggered on until he reached the jungle trees. In a gap in the gloom of the topmost boughs, he saw maniacal kites zig-zagging in blazing sunlight.

He crept on all fours till he reached a clearing. A primitive thatched hut came into view. In the doorway, stood a Siamese woman, gazing at Shears—wide-eyed and open-mouthed.

Six huts formed a circle round a dirt-packed clearing in absolute isolation. Two Siamese boys stood in the middle of the clearing, paying out string to their kites.

Shears pointed at the boys, giggled inanely, then lurched towards them—but the vision of this gibbering demon—which the kites had been impotent to exorcize—created such terror that the boys ran shrieking to the nearest hut.

Then the village headman—Yai—appeared. Grey hair and a wispy beard framed features as impassive as those of an idol.

To Shears, the headman, Yai—the woman in the doorway—the huts—everything—emerged, then vanished, like scenery intermittently glimpsed through the mist of a dream.

His knees buckled and he collapsed.

The villagers approached warily, then formed a circle round the body. Yai gave a quiet order and two men picked Shears up and carried him to a hut, women following.

\* \* \*

The prisoners were drawn up in ranks outside Saito's bungalow. They were covered by a machine gun. An angry voice in the bungalow was clearly audible, but incomprehensible as the language was Japanese.

Lieutenant Miura stood to attention near the model of the bridge. Other officers, near him, also stood to attention. Using a pointer, Saito indicated the various positions on the model, then he turned the American pin-up calendar for March, April, and May—revealing three most provocative American beauties. The twelfth of May was heavily ringed in coloured pencil.

Saito shouted at Miura who made a gesture of despair. Saito pointed to the prisoners on the parade ground. Miura bowed and left.

A few moments later, Saito appeared on the top of the steps leading to the bungalow. A Japanese sergeant bawled "Attention" in Japanese. Not a man moved. An English sergeant gave the same order—and the men sprang to attention.

Saito regarded the men with phoney bonhomie.

"English prisoners! Why does not the bridge progress? Because your officers are lazy. They think themselves too good to share your burdens."

Pause.

"You are not happy in your work, so the bridge does not progress. With deep shame, I admit the failure of Lieutenant Miura. I have removed him from his post. Today, you rest. I give you all presents."

The last statement created considerable enthusiasm. There was a rush to a lorry loaded with parcels. But when these were opened, it was discovered that the parcels were their own Red Cross ones.

"The bastard! He's given us our own bloody parcels! Blimey! If I had my way, I wouldn't give him a parcel. I'd give him a packet!"

The next day Saito was seated at a folding table overlooking the pile-driving operations. All seemed well. A new enthusiasm was apparent.

Then a British sergeant gave an order. Several strands of the rope were hanging loose. The sergeant muttered: "One more will do it!"

The team gave a vigorous pull. Instantly, the rope broke. The huge weight crashed down on the top of the pile, bounced off, and fell into the river. The wooden scaffold, which housed the pile-driver, swayed—then toppled into the river, carrying large sections of the bridge with it.

Pandemonium!

This was a far greater disaster than the former one.

Saito stared, like a man on the edge of a bottomless pit.

That night, when the moonlit parade ground was deserted, three figures stole towards the "oven"—Kanematsu and two guards.

Some minutes later, Nicholson entered the bungalow and found Saito seated at his desk.

"Good evening, Colonel. Do you mind sitting over here? I am having rather a late supper."

Nicholson inclined his head and went to the table, which was covered with good food, a bottle of whisky, and a soda siphon.

Nicholson looked even more haggard. His beard was longer and his features wasted, but he was in full command of himself.

He brushed the seat of his trousers, then sat down. Saito carved several slices of corned beef, placed some on a plate which he handed to Nicholson.

"No thank you."

Saito opened the whisky bottle, poured two drinks, then handed one to Nicholson.

"Produce of Scotland, Colonel. Cheers!"

"Sorry."

"Later, perhaps."

"Perhaps."

Saito started to speak, but Nicholson cut in:

"I must tell you Colonel Say Toe I intend to make a full report of your actions in this camp since our arrival."

"I have to carry out my orders."

"Quite."

"There are only twelve weeks in which to finish the bridge."

"Just so."

"I must use all available personnel."

"But not officers—except in an administrative capacity."

Saito, angrily:

"Officers are working along the entire railway! You know it! I know it!"

"I am not responsible for other British Commanders—if what you say is true."

"Let us not get excited. Have a cigar."

"No thank you."

"Do you know what will happen to me if the bridge is not finished in time?"

"Haven't the foggiest."

"I would have to kill myself. What would you do if you were me?"

Nicholson replied, quite seriously:

"I would kill myself." Then, sensing victory, he picked up the glass of whisky in front of him. "Cheers."

Saito rose and said:

"If I die, others will die before me."

"We can reach a proper solution. Please sit down."

Saito obeyed, and Nicholson took another sip of whisky.

Nicholson then explained that the bridge could be finished only in one way—by British soldiers working under British officers.

Saito leapt to his feet.

"I hate the British! I hate them!"

Nicholson rose.

"It is pointless to go on like this."

The guards were summoned and Nicholson was taken back to the "oven".

\* \* \*

A recovered Shears—dressed in a remarkable assortment of clothes—was in a canoe with a Siamese boatman. He had made signs of farewell to Yai and the villagers who had saved his life and was now about to leave them.

The canoe was pushed off and the boatman paddled downstream. For an hour all was tranquil, then a concealed Japanese sentry fired twice—killing the boatman and wounding Shears.

The canoe drifted downstream with the unconscious Shears till it reached the open sea.

Carried by the tide, it soon became an almost indistinguishable speck in the distance.

\* \* \*

Meanwhile, dramatic events were happening at the prison camp.

Nicholson had been sent for. All the men were drawn up on the parade ground, waiting. The Colonel pushed himself clear of the guards and, stiff-legged, exhausted, walked to Saito's bungalow. The silence was absolute. Every man knew that vital decisions were in issue.

Saito surrendered. He agreed that officers should not do manual labour. He had no alternative because, in present conditions, the bridge would never be built.

The conflict of wills had ended. All external events had derived from this inner, invisible conflict. Only the adversaries knew the intensity of that conflict—and the issues at stake.

Nicholson appeared on the bungalow steps. The discipline of a lifetime asserted itself—he raised his chin, threw back his shoulders, and marched towards the parade ground.

The men recognized Victory. Like a tidal wave, they surrounded him, frantic with enthusiasm. Excitement rose in widening crescendo.

In the bungalow Saito stood by his bed, taut as a martyr tied to the stake. He gave a strangled cry, then fell on to the bed, shaking with convulsive sobs.

..... A visit to the pile-driving site convinced Nicholson that the men had degenerated as the result of being treated as slaves. They had become a rabble. He decided to hold an officers' meeting and held it at a place which gave an excellent view of the bridge site.

First, he asked Reeves, the engineer officer, if he had ever constructed a bridge across a stream like the Kwai.

"Half a dozen, sir, in Madras, Bengal, and so on."

"If this were your bridge, how would you proceed?"

"I wouldn't build it *there*."

"Why not?"

"As I tried to tell you, sir, some time ago—the Japs couldn't have chosen a worse site. You could drive those logs till doomsday, you'd never hit bedrock. Only mud."

"Where would *you* build the bridge?"

"Further downstream, sir, across those narrows. There's solid rockface on both banks."

Nicholson turned to another officer, Hughes.

"I believe you've supervised construction crews. How would you go about supervizing the work?"

"Well, sir, not the way *they've* done it. It's utter chaos."

"Yes, indeed. Now, gentlemen we face a crisis. We must turn the men into soldiers again. Get them to prove that even as *prisoners*, they're superior to their captors. Right?"

"Right, sir..... Yes, indeed..... They'll respond."

"We're going to build a *proper* bridge on the right site. You, as engineer, are the key man, Reeves. And you, Hughes, take over man-management. Can we make it a good show?"

"We'll do our best, sir."

"Good. We'll have a conference with Say Toe. Have all the data ready. Don't leave him a loophole."

The next night, the conference was held in Saito's bungalow. The dining-table had been extended and chairs set out round it. Saito sat at one end of the table with his officers on his right: Opposite, Nicholson sat with his three officers. Saito was nominal chairman, but Nicholson dominated the conference.

Armed with undeniable facts and figures, he compelled agreement. He proved that the site for the bridge was totally unsuitable. Reeves produced pressure-and-soil resistance figures, proved that the site must be four hundred yards downstream. Then Nicholson said that daily quota of work for his men would be increased from one cubic yard of earth moved to a yard-and-a-half. Hughes added that if gangs were reorganized—more squads and specialized functions for each—daily output could be increased by thirty per cent.

Then Nicholson suggested that the daily work quota for Japanese soldiers should be made the same as that for the British soldiers. A trance-like Saito replied: "I have already given the order."

Finally, Saito asked:

"Can you finish the bridge on time?"

"My officers think it is impossible, but we'll give it a go. Time has been wasted, but I was not responsible for that."

The British officers saluted and left.

Saito dismissed his officers.

Saito sat, motionless as an idol, staring at defeat.

As Nicholson and his officers made their way towards the officers' hut, Reeves said excitedly:

"You know, sir, I meant to tell you—there are trees in the forest very similar to elm. And, as you know, the elm piles of London Bridge have lasted six hundred years."

Nicholson stopped dead in his tracks.

"Six hundred years!..... Six hundred years, Reeves? I say, that would be a pretty good show."

\* \* \*

Mount Lavinia Hotel—Ceylon. Now a hospital. A Union Jack fluttered in the breeze. The place resembled a glossy advertisement for holidays in a tropical paradise. A terrace of green lawn overlooked the blue sea. Below the terrace—a sheltered cove and a white sand beach. Nurses, cool and attractive in their whites moved across the terrace among their patients.

Only two figures were on the beach. A man in bathing trunks, lying on his back. Close beside him was a beautifully formed young woman in a skin-tight bathing suit. The young woman was a Navy nurse. The man was Shears.

A romantic scene between them was interrupted by Major Warden, a dynamic man of about forty-five, with a clean-cut rugged face. The nurse decided to go for a swim.

Warden made himself known to Shears then, after some social chat, said concisely:

"I belong to a rather rum force known as Force 136. Our H.Q. is in the Botanical Gardens. We're very interested in the railway you worked on."

Shears cut in to say that he'd already told "everything I know to your Intelligence people, but if you want it all over again, you can have it. I'm leaving for the States in a few days."

"That's very kind of you. Lord Louis will be most grateful."

"Lord..... Who?"

"Mountbatten. He's very interested in our show."

"I see."

"Well, Shears, shall we make it tomorrow morning? Good. I'll send a car, of course."

The next morning, a military car wound its way through green rolling hills, past streams and waterfalls—and a long line of women tea-pickers in their multi-coloured saris. The car came to a halt in front of a gate over which was a sign: 'Peacehaven Estate'. A Singhalese private examined the pass, saluted and the car moved on. It entered the Commando School. The chauffeur opened the door and Shears alighted.

Warden appeared, carrying a long black stocking, stuffed with a putty-like substance about the size of a tennis ball.

"Awfully good of you to come, Shears."

"So this is a Commando School."

"Yes, but we don't like the word. Bit melodramatic."

"What do you do here, Major?"

"Oh, sabotage, demolition. We're using plastic explosive. Wonderful stuff." He held up the putty-like substance. "Quite harmless—until it's detonated." Shears grimaced.

They went into Warden's bungalow. His office overlooked enchanting country. One wall covered with maps; another covered from floor to ceiling with bookcases, full of volumes in various Oriental languages.

Shears indicated the books, then asked:

"Are these *yours*?"

"Yes, before the war I taught languages at Cambridge. By the way, I never congratulated you on your escape. Good show."

"If that Sea Rescue plane hadn't spotted me in that canoe, I wouldn't be here."

"Very glad you are." Warden crossed to a map. "Here's the river Kwai—and your village—and here's the railway. All familiar to you, of course."

Then Warden went on to explain that his crowd was going to destroy the bridge—too far for bombers with an adequate load. He and three others would go through the jungle with demolition equipment. Warden added that Shears' knowledge must be used. Shears must volunteer. Warden then revealed that the U.S. Navy had turned Shears over to him—that Intelligence knew that Shears was not a Commander but an ordinary seaman! When he got ashore, after his ship went down, he changed uniforms with a dead Commander and had posed as one ever since. So Shears had to volunteer.

Feeling awake in a dream, Shears said: "O.K."

Warden said: "There's always the unexpected, Shears."

\* \* \*

Meanwhile a notable talk was taking place between Nicholson and his Medical Officer—Clifton. The latter suggested that building the bridge might be regarded as collaboration with the enemy. Nicholson was astounded. He pointed out the high morale of the men—all the advantages of that—and so on, but it was clear that Clifton felt that the railway would extend Japanese dominion. Finally, Nicholson said: "You've a lot to learn, Clifton, about the Army."

\* \* \*

In Warden's bungalow final plans were being made for the Commando attack on the bridge. The team was to consist of Warden; Chapman, a Scot; Joyce, a Canadian; and Shears. Colonel Green, whose opinion was decisive, had had some doubts about Joyce, as the latter was 'worried' about killing in cold blood.

It was decided that Shears, who had never made a parachute jump, would have to make his first, with the other three, to a small clearing in the Siamese jungle. Shears learned that Warden was not merely an ex-Cambridge don. He did notable sabotage work when Singapore fell, was a prisoner of the Japanese and had escaped . . . .

\* \* \*

A Dakota plane droned through the twilight over the dark Siamese jungle. The Jumpmaster kicked a canister into space, then Shears, Warden, Joyce, Chapman—one after another—jumped into the slipstream.

Four parachutes opened. Shears, Warden, Joyce landed on the clearing. Chapman—in the jungle trees. The three rushed to find him—and found him dangling limply, with twisted neck, from the branch of a tree.

They carried the body to Yai's hut. Warden talked to Yai in Siamese. Then Warden told the others that Yai was going with them—and they would have to use women bearers as the Japs had taken all Yai's men. Shears gazed at Chapman's body, in a corner.

Shears said: "There's always the unexpected, Warden."

Then for days and nights the party made its laborious way through the jungle with the women bearers. They picked up a radio message from their Ceylon H.Q. telling that the bridge installation had been moved downstream—that on the 13th May an inaugural train from Bangkok would pass over the bridge.

At the prison camp, Saito had heard that Nicholson was going to ask hospital patients to volunteer for work. He watched through binoculars and saw several wounded men leaving hospital to go to work. Nicholson had *no* limits!

The commando party was attacked by a Japanese patrol. Six of the Japs were killed; the seventh escaped, pursued by Warden and Joyce. Warden killed the Jap. A photograph of a young Japanese girl fell from the dead man's tunic. Sister? . . . . Daughter? . . . . Sweetheart? . . . .

Warden's foot was badly injured in the fight with the Jap. He had to be carried on a stretcher—unconscious. Eventually, Shears took command of the party in place of injured Warden. But—despite the latter's plea to be left behind—Shears was determined they went on together. He snapped: "You're crazy with courage for what? How to die like a gentleman—when all that matters is how to live—like a human being."

At last they reached a hilltop. Far below was the river Kwai—and a completed, imposing bridge. Warden, revived by the sight, assumed command again. Through binoculars, Nicholson could be seen doing odd jobs on the bridge. Warden wanted to wait for the train, determined to set explosive charges on the bridge, against the centre piles.

Nicholson hammered a plaque to the parapet rail of the bridge:

THIS BRIDGE  
WAS DESIGNED AND CONSTRUCTED BY  
SOLDIERS OF THE BRITISH ARMY

—  
FEB—MAY 1943

Lt. Col. L. NICHOLSON D.S.O. COMMANDING

Warden decided to run a wire from the plunger box across the river. Joyce was to do that. Shears was to cover Joyce on the near side of the river—with Yai and two tommy-guns. Warden was to set up a mortar gun in his outpost.

At sunset, Nicholson stood on the bridge. Saito passed him, looked at the sunset. His code and loss of face made him decide on *hara-kiri*. This was the last sunset he would ever see. So, for him, this sunset was the death of the sun. He approached Nicholson, who, thinking aloud, wondered what his life had added up to.

The troops had arranged a music hall show in an open air theatre. Soon, distant songs, shouts, wolf whistles were heard by the Commando team.

In darkness, Shears and Joyce pushed off a raft, laden with explosive charges, into the river. There was a bump as the raft hit the piles, but applause from troops covered it. The charges were laid. Yai rose from the shallow water with two tommy-guns; Japanese sentries were patrolling the bridge. Shears took

a plunger-box from the raft. Wire was paid out from the piles to the plunger-box, near a rock hiding Joyce. Joyce attached wire to the plunger box, while Shears lifted wire revealing it where it entered the river. He let it drop in the sand. Shears joined Yai on the other bank. Joyce was alone. 'God Save the King' was heard from the troops' theatre.

It is dawn . . . .

Shears wakes, then exclaims: "The river's down! The wire! It's above the surface of the water!"

Warden makes the same discovery, plus another even more disturbing one. At water level, the charges on the bridge can be seen! Japanese sentries have noticed nothing. Joyce too has seen. He scrapes sand over the wire. He looks towards the bridge. The British prisoners march over the bridge followed by Japanese troops—who perform an opening ceremony.

Nicholson says to Clifton: "Train should be here in five minutes." Clifton says: "I'll watch from the hill. I'd rather not be a part of it, sir." Nicholson shrugs irritably. Clifton goes to a knoll high above the bridge.

Warden checks his mortar—glances at shells.

Nicholson goes on to the bridge—*his* bridge—looks down at piles at either side. The explosive charges are visible. Joyce is completely hidden by the rock, but stretches of the wire glisten in the sun. Nicholson fetches Saito. They leave bridge and are soon only a few yards from Joyce's position. Puffs of smoke from the approaching train can be seen. Then Nicholson detects wire near water's edge. Joyce draws his knife. Nicholson says to Saito: "The bridge has been mined." Joyce rushes out and plunges knife in Saito's back. He falls with Saito into the shallow water.

Nicholson yells: "Help! Bandits!" Joyce pulls knife from Saito's back. Nicholson stands between Joyce and the plunger-box.

Japanese officers and men hasten to join Nicholson.

Shears runs down the slope on river bank and plunges into the river.

Warden signs to a Siamese girl who loads a shell. Nicholson and Joyce in their struggle have fallen in the sand. Shears is half way across the river. The train comes into view. Yai fires to 'cover' Shears in the river. The Japanese return fire—killing Yai.

The train comes slowly on to the bridge. Banners flying. Japanese wave from the windows.

Shears reaches the opposite bank, then goes towards Nicholson, not the plunger-box. Nicholson stares at him: "You!"

Shears, who would have killed Nicholson if he had the strength, snarls: "You!" Joyce looks at them dazed.

Warden fires a shell from his mortar. The explosion kills Joyce and Shears. Nicholson, hit, falls on the plunger-box.

A rending, long-echoing, ROAR.

The bridge, with the train on it, collapses in the centre. The air is filled with dust, debris. Cries of the drowning and the wounded are overwhelmed by the annihilation across the chasm . . . .

Clifton, blown off his feet by the explosion, but unhurt, stares at the holocaust, wrought by Warden's shell, with mounting horror. He shakes clenched fists at a smoke-hidden heaven then shouts:

"Madness . . . . MADNESS!"

Warden, seeing revulsion on the face of the Siamese girl who had loaded the shell, says hysterically—not to her, but to himself: "I had to do it! They might have been taken prisoner. It wasn't for the bridge." As the other girl bearers shrink back in terror, he throws down his gun and goes up the cliff on the long journey home.

Jammed among the wreckage of timber in the river, the current sweeps away Nicholson's plaque: 'THIS BRIDGE WAS DESIGNED AND CONSTRUCTED BY . . . .'

As the sun comes up, deep silence broods over the scene of desolation. But somewhere beyond the distant horizons, more men are parading to chauvinistic marches and frenetic crowds are cheering them on. Across the chasm, across the years, only the solitary voice calling "Madness . . . . MADNESS!"

Under a cobalt-blue sky, a great white bird, with lustrous wings outspread, soars rhythmically high above the Siamese jungle, like a symbol of peace and serenity.

THE END

## Law and disarmament

IN your editorial comments (Oct. 11) upon my article you imply that I have proposed that the non-nuclear nations should come together to enforce their will upon the two nuclear giant powers. And you say this notion is fantastic. It is indeed! But I never proposed it.

What I suggested, if you will do me the honour of reading carefully what I actually wrote, is that the nations desiring to renounce the "bomb" should get together to have this renunciation **enforced upon themselves**. And I have repeatedly argued that since the "bomb" and national "armed forces" are different aspects of the same thing, this will mean total national disarmament under enforceable supra-national law.

This, in my view, is the first practical step to the final goal of universal disarmament under world law. I am all in favour of moral attitudes. The moralists in earlier days who opposed slavery, who supported universal education, who objected to the employment of children in dark satanic mills were right. But the politicians who then had the sense to translate these attitudes into enforceable statute laws were also right.

For similar reasons I am now arguing that a moral attitude, which mere unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons will represent, is not enough. Britain, experienced as she is in the art of government, should do something more. She should seek to persuade all nations who will renounce the "bomb" to set up above themselves the supra-national machinery which can translate their moral attitudes into legislative, enforceable reality.

Pacifists who object to this are anarchists. If they claim to be Christians they fail to understand Christ's advice on the function of civil law when He said, "Render therefore unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's..."

As W. B. Curry once said,

"Laws are necessary not because all men are villains; but because all men are sometimes tempted to be. The existence of the law should strengthen and support our good resolutions."

I am in favour of Britain renouncing the bomb; but if and when we do this I want to be sure that we never go back on our word; and I want other nations to put themselves into the same position.—HENRY USBORNE, House of Commons, London, S.W.

## International police force

GRANTED, with T. R. D. in his review of Stuart Morris's "The Arm of the Law," PN Sept. 20, that an "international police force" is attractive to some people because what is envisaged is policeman as in Britain who detain the wrongdoer, but can neither judge nor punish.

Today wouldn't we all like to see, at the world level, the guilty apprehended by police and punished by competent authority while the innocent would go free?

An international police force, in its proper sense, is not possible under the United Nations within its present structure, for more than one reason. The member nations have given the United Nations no authority to deal independently and directly with individual nationals without national consent.

Worse yet, there is only a modicum of popular consent to the recommendations of the UN because the people cannot elect representatives to a UN legislative body.

"International police force" is, indeed, a term subject to much careless usage, even, sad to say, by far too many pacifists who, if anyone, should know better.

However, when T. R. D. continues the review to claim that "the numerous plans for 'organising peace' have all involved very different sorts of forces"—from the British system—I must protest vigorously.

One of the corner stones of the organisation for which I work, the Campaign for World Government, from its founding in 1937, has been a civilian police force operating directly on individuals.

Federation, as the debates in drafting the United States Constitution from 1787 through ratification vividly and amply illustrate, *ipso facto*, requires a direct, two-way relationship, from the individual citizen,

## Letters to the Editor

through elected representatives, to the government, and from the government to the citizen through civilian enforcement directly on the individual without the interference of member States when the federation is within its delegated powers.

Pacifists would do well for the world's urgent cause of peace to scrutinise the various plans for peace and study the critical structural differences between leagues such as the United Nations, and federations. T. R. D. to the contrary notwithstanding, there are many plans (vide: *Searchlight on Peace Plans: Choose Your Road to World Government*, Dutton, 1949, by Edith Wynner and me) and many organisations with that very aim to see established at the world level just such a police force as the British.

Surely the world has seen more than enough of international armies and "collective security"—GEORGIA LLOYD, Executive Secretary, Campaign for World Government, Inc., 333 Park Avenue, Glen-coe, Ill., U.S.A.

**Labour Party and the H-bomb**  
A GREAT deal has been written about H-bomb proposals rejected by the recent Labour Party Conference.

We feel it is time that something was said about certain proposals accepted by the conference on this subject. We refer to proposals stating quite definitely that (1) Britain should unilaterally stop testing nuclear

weapons "to give a moral lead to the world" (Bristol composite resolution) and (2) that at the same time we should "seek the support of all nations in the councils of the United Nations for (a) an end to H-bomb tests; (b) a ban on nuclear weapons and the destruction of existing stocks with international control and inspection (Paisley composite resolution).

Whilst neither of us are members of the Labour Party we do feel that credit should be given where it is due, and the above-mentioned resolutions undoubtedly make a considerable advance on the previous Labour stand on this issue.—CAMPBELL MATTHEWS, RON MONTAGUE, 52, Fleet Avenue, Upminster, Essex.

### Christian pacifism

IN stating "By the early Church Fathers is generally understood the distinguished leaders and writers of the Church in the first three centuries and into part of the fourth," the Rev. Foley is being a little arbitrary. The Oxford English Dictionary define that august body as "writers of the first five centuries," of whom St. Augustine (430 AD) was one. His well-known advice to nervous Christians who appealed to him to say whether a Christian could serve God as a soldier was that "a man might do his duty to his God and his Emperor as well in a camp as elsewhere."

Nor does Edwin Foley prove his contention that the Christian Church was unani-

October 25, 1957—PEACE NEWS—5

mously pacifist "for at least 300 years" by quoting the Egyptian Church Orders (300-325 AD) as stating that "a catechumen or believer if they wish to be a soldier shall be rejected because it is far from God," since we know that in the very year—325 AD—the Emperor Constantine, a military homicide of the first rank, was presiding over the Council of Nicaea and giving advice and directions to "The Council of 318" bishops, by one of whom—Eusebius of Caesarea—his appearance at that meeting was later described as being like "some heavenly angel of God."

The following year this heavenly angel was conniving at the slaughter of his eldest son, his nephew aged 11, and his second wife Fausta, and yet was afterwards accorded absolution and received into the Christian Church when, according to Zosimus, the priests of Mithras to whom he had first applied for absolution for this horrible crime had, rather naturally, refused it.

As I pointed out in a previous letter, the bishops' enthusiastic support of Constantine's proposed war against the Pagan, Sapor provides historical proof that their conscientious objection to military service was neither sincere nor deep if they could condone in their protector what they so fiercely condemned in champions of the rival, pagan faith. The logical conclusion must be that their objection was religious rather than humane, springing not from reverence for life but from a sectarian dislike to bending the knee to other gods.

This is borne out by the story of two soldiers who cast off their arms, exclaiming: "We are called here to serve in the shining company of angels. . . There Christ . . . from his lofty throne condemns your infamous gods, or, we should say, these ridiculous monsters." Brave words, perhaps, but evincing no motive of compassionate love for the fellowmen they were called upon to destroy.—ESME WYNNE-TYSON, Clarwyn, 9 Park Lane, Selsey, Sussex.

## THE WAY TO PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST

By Fenner Brockway, MP

I WONDER how many people in the world have a fraction of understanding of what is happening between Turkey and Syria? The average man and woman in America, Russia, Britain, India, Nigeria hasn't a clue.

Indeed, even the informed man hasn't a clue. I spent an hour this week with an Englishman from Beirut and a Swede from Istanbul, both intelligent political observers, and neither of them dared to say where the truth lies.

I am doubtful whether the Ministers and military leaders of Turkey and Syria know what the crisis is all about. I am fairly sure that this is a conflict between Russia and America rather than between the countries in the Middle East.

### Cold war

Antagonisms exist between Turkey and the Arab countries, between the Arab countries and Israel, but left to themselves there would not be any immediate threat of war.

**The Middle East is the victim of the Cold War. It is America and Russia in the background which constitutes the danger. This is a new form of Imperialism, menacing smaller nations with destruction because of the quarrels of the great Powers.**

The truth surely is that Russia has taken this opportunity to extend her influence among the Arab peoples. Already the Arabs believe that it was Russia's threat to intervene in the Suez crisis by letting loose her rocket missiles on Britain, France and Israel which brought about the retreat from Suez.

**The two friends whom I met this week from Beirut and Istanbul tell me that every Arab believes this, and nothing can shake their conviction.**

Now Russia will win the reputation of saving the Arab countries from an American-Turkish attack. Khrushchev's letter to the Labour Parties of Europe has been broadcast repeatedly in Arabic over the Middle East. Russia once more, and more deeply, will be regarded by the Arab peoples as their saviour.

### Neutralised

America, on the other hand, has repeated the Dulles technique of bringing the world to the brink of war by threatening immediate nuclear bombing of Russia should Turkey be attacked by Syria. The danger is that some small incident may occur on

the Turkish-Syrian frontier which will spark the scene to a blaze. Then America may feel that she cannot draw back.

Hope lies in the reference of the issue to the United Nations by Syria. World opinion is being expressed, and that world opinion will restrain both Russia and America.

It may be that from this crisis the way will open for a permanent settlement. It will be excellent if a Commission composed of representatives of nations not immediately involved is sent to the Middle East to report on the situation and to make proposals for a peaceful solution.

**The lines of that solution are clear. The Middle East should be neutralised. Its peoples should no longer be made the pawns of the great Powers manœuvring in the Cold War.**

Representatives of America, Russia, Britain and France should be brought together under a United Nations chairman to work out a policy under which their military and political hold on these countries should be withdrawn. There should be an embargo on the further contribution of arms to one side or the other. The independence of the Arab countries should be made a reality.

### Co-operation

In the background is the economic issue of oil. The American and European companies must come to accept the principle that oil wealth should be used primarily to lift the standards of life and to spread education and health among the Arab populations. That means, also, a democratic social change within the Arab countries, transferring the mineral rights from feudal Sheiks to the people.

In time, the problem of Israel must be solved. The Arab aim of obliterating Israel must change to the establishment of a Middle East Federation, including Israel. This involves a new psychology among the Israelis as well as among the Arabs. The motives which led to the attack on Egypt must alter. Israel must share responsibility for the wretched Arab refugees who still huddle in poverty on their borders. Arab-Israeli antagonism must gradually be sublimated into co-operation for mutual betterment.

These results will take long to achieve, but let us at least make a beginning. The present crisis will not be in vain if the United Nations discussions lead to an initiative in the first step.

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proceeds PN and PPU. Saturday, November 2, Library, Mary Ward Settlement, 5 Tavistock Place, Euston, London, W.C.1. 3 p.m.: Stuart Morris; 4 p.m.: Antony Bates—talk and display of own pictures; 5 p.m.: Eric Tapsell—talk and exhibition of weaving.

## Reprints of DR. SCHWEITZER'S H-bomb test appeal and also REFLECTIONS ON DEFENCE

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**US Sub-committee on  
 Radiation publishes  
 hearing**  
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A "SUMMARY-ANALYSIS" of the public hearings last spring by the Special Congressional Sub-committee on Radiation was published on August 26th. This prediction is made about future nuclear tests: "The consequences of further testing over the next several generations, at the level of testing of the past five years, could constitute a hazard to the world's population." Among the "major unresolved questions" are:

1. How "clean" can nuclear weapons actually be made?
2. To what degree is the distribution of radio-active fall-out uniform or irregular throughout the world?
3. To what extent do the biological processes of animals, plants, and human beings exhibit a preference for or against Strontium 90 taken into the human body?
4. Is there a "safe" minimum level of radiation below which there is no increase in the incidence of leukaemia and bone cancer?
5. Should a distinction be made between absolute numbers of persons affected by fall-out and percentages relating these numbers to the total population of the world?

In an ominous footnote there is mention of a special meeting of scientists on July 29 when possible danger was forecast for young persons in the north-eastern United States from atomic fall-out. They indicated that the bones of young persons in this area might contain one-tenth to one-fourth the maximum permissible concentration of Strontium 90.

The 19-page 6,000-word "Summary-Analysis of Hearings on The Nature of Radio-active Fall-out and its Effect on Man" is available without charge from the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, Capital Building, Washington, DC. The complete report, of the hearings, covering some 2,000 pages and printed in two volumes, will soon be available from the Government Printing Office for \$5.00.

**PPU RELIGION COMMISSION**

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Reginald Reynolds\* who has recently returned from Japan and the Far East, here concludes his series of articles on Singapore and Malaya

## WHAT NEXT IN MALAYA?

LISTENING to the conversation of British officials in Malaya and on the long trip home, I compare it with the talk of similar types 28 years ago, when I first went out to India. So much is the same and yet so much has changed.

Though there is still the same underlying arrogance and the assumption that we belong to a superior breed, the confident assertion that we are indispensable has been shattered.

How dogmatic they were in 1929! Indians, they all assured me, were all dirty, dishonest and incompetent. The mildest concessions on the part of Westminster, designed (though unsuccessfully) to divide Indian political opinion and blunt its cutting edge, were regarded as treason or cowardice. The modern colonial servant has accepted, however reluctantly, the inevitability of change.

Even in their behaviour among themselves these people are more natural, more relaxed. In 1929 they used to wear their pith helmets—the very emblem of Empire—even under an awning. They dreaded the sun as much as they feared criticism. Today another generation plays and even sun bathes in the tropics, unprotected, on the open deck. They can talk of Asians as human beings, even as friends. They can discuss the new, independent Malaya and its Ministers tolerantly, perhaps a little patronisingly, but without frothing at the mouth.

★

FOR some "Malayanisation" will mean that they will soon become redundant, but they have little cause to worry. A young police officer explains that he is already on the retired list at the age of 30. Recruited at 20—five years before the normal age for civil service, because of exceptional circumstances—he received two years' training in England and then did eight years' service in Malaya. He will now draw a pension of £7 a week. He also intends to help police another British colony, so that he will be doing very well indeed.

The young police officer does not look brutal, but I heard him say of his work in Malaya that the police "had to be as ruthless and brutal as the Communists. We had to beat them at their own game." He spoke lightly and confidently about "grilling" suspects. The way things have worked out, of course, the Communist rebels are now the enemy of the new, independent, Malayan Government; but a British force remains, by agreement, to conduct this struggle.

**General's comment**

While I was in the Straits the military Director of Operations, Lt-General Sir Roger Bower, made his retiring speech, in which he offered an illuminating comment on the MCP (Malayan Communist Party). "The very fact," he said, "that the Emergency is continuing has rendered subversion by the MCP very difficult, as the people

who would obviously direct it are now shut up in the jungle."

"The Emergency" is the official euphemism for a war that has lasted for ten years. Even the Singapore Standard, a "sound" and "loyal" paper read by British residents in the Straits, described this statement as naive, since the jungle "is not a fenced-in plot of land." To me the most interesting aspect of the General's assertion was the cynical assumption that a war is an asset if it keeps your political opponents fighting instead of using the legitimate methods in which we profess to believe. He might, with more clarity, have said that shooting and hanging and torture (which both sides have used) are to be welcomed in preference to the ballot box and trade union organisation.

★

LEST we should think such opinions peculiar to General Bower, his successor lost no time in declaring his sanguinary intentions. Lt-General Sir James Cassels, arriving at Kuala Lumpur on Sept. 14, immediately told the Press (as reported in the Singapore Sunday Standard, Sept. 15):

"I will shoot first and ask questions afterwards."

This was announced as the General's "promise to the Communist terrorists," though the threat, if carried out, will clearly mean that many non-terrorists will be killed on the vaguest suspicions. It can mean nothing else and is only an extension of previous policy by a man who admitted to being "a new boy to this country." (This kind of ignorance is considered permissible with Generals. It is only liberal-minded politicians or writers who are supposed to keep their mouths shut unless they have lived at least 20 years in a colonial territory.)

**Independent?**

Did I say "colonial territory"? But I am talking about Malaya after "Merdeka" (freedom). The trouble is that it is so difficult sometimes to grasp the reality of Malayan independence. British generals still at large and talking the way generals do talk made it hard; and there are other things. British residents in Malaya speak of the Merdeka celebrations as a damp squib. They say the Chinese kept off the streets and the Malays showed little or no enthusiasm. I wondered at first if this was just a mixture of self-deception and (perhaps) propaganda for my benefit. I don't know, but I am inclined to think it was neither.

What if the people feel that there is little substance in this new independence? What if they feel that nothing has greatly changed, with the British still owning the tin mines and the rubber plantations, the sultans and rajahs (faithful collaborators with British imperialism) firmly entrenched in the Constitution and a British army still on the spot, able to be used (as, in fact, it is being used already) to defend British interests? Even the Europeans in Government Service, who stand stiffly to attention now for the Paramount Rulers and take their orders from the Ministers in Tengku Abdul Rahman's cabinet, do not look or behave like the humble servants of these new masters. They still frequent exclusive clubs and live as a race apart.

**Malayanisation**

More genial and flexible than their stuffy predecessors (those stereotypes from the pages of fiction, whose kind I met as a young man), these people still discuss the country where they work in terms of good or bad "stations," of "leave," of high (but apparently inadequate) salaries and pensions. And their social world is still mainly one of "old so-and-so" and clubs and cocktail parties—a very limited, mainly European world, though any who are on good terms with a ruling prince will be quite proud to tell you about it.

The Prime Minister himself is not very convincing. In a speech reported in the Singapore Standard (Sept. 11) he said that "Democracy as constituted in the Feder-

ation had no parallel in the world. Not only were members of the country's Legislative Council elected by the people, but also the Paramount Ruler was elected by his brother rulers." Yet these are the people—the sultans and rajahs—who up to the last moment opposed independence!

★

"MALAYANISATION," as it progresses, will not only save the country a great deal of money, but may bring a greater sense of reality to "Merdeka." Yet this, too, is hedged with difficulties, since the British—using the fears of the Malays very skilfully—persuaded the Malays to agree to a quota system in Government appointments. One Englishman, the head of a Department, said he could replace six English assistants he was losing "by better men"—an interesting admission, since I had been told that "the best" English officials were leaving. But this man qualified his statement by saying that the quota system would make it difficult to get the men he wanted.

We posed, in the last phase, as the champions of the Malays against the Chinese, and did much to divide them. For this, too, Malaya has yet to pay. I wish this new State well—but I do not foresee an easy future for it. An ominous sports-page headline says: "Crimson Pirate Snatches the Merdeka Cup."

\*Reginald Reynolds will speak on Wednesday October 30, at Friends House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1. at 6.15 p.m. See Diary

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# DIARY

# CO-EXISTENCE

W. Grigor McClelland reviews

THE CHALLENGE OF CO-EXISTENCE, Methuen, London, 10s. 6d.

WHAT will the Gaitskell-Bevan foreign policy be when these two become, as they probably will, Britain's next Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary?

The Labour conference at Brighton appeared to decide that a Labour Foreign Secretary should go into the conference chamber fully clothed in H-panoply, but it did not cast much light on what he would say when he got there. From his speech it may be supposed that Bevan himself inclines to favour "playing it by ear" when the time comes.

Gaitskell, on the other hand, earlier this year expressed his ideas on foreign policy with precision and in detail, when he delivered three lectures at Harvard University under the title: "The Challenge of Co-existence." They are published in Britain by Methuen at 7s. 6d. They are worth reading not only for the intrinsic interest of the subject matter and the way it is handled but also because they show one of the ablest minds in British politics in a more reflective mood than is usually expressed in the House of Commons.

The first lecture deals with the United Nations, the second with the confrontation in Europe, the third with the uncommitted areas. There is little to quarrel with in the first, and less in the third. They contain a fair assessment of the strengths, limitations and possibilities of the world organisation, an emphatic repudiation of colonialism, some wise words on the character and channels of economic aid, and so on. But they do leave the field quite clear for a defence of military alliances, and in particular of NATO, which—as emerges in the second lecture—is close to Mr. Gaitskell's heart.

The argument of this second lecture must be set out fully.



Russia's post-war intentions were clearly shown, we are told, by a series of aggressive moves from 1945-50 which caused the West to take counter-measures to maintain a balance of power. Before NATO (born 1949), Russia was held at bay only by America's monopoly of the atom bomb, and Western conventional rearmament was needed as soon as that monopoly was broken. "NATO has made resistance to aggression certain" and convinced the Russians of this. But it can still only muster about 15 divisions (against a 1952 target of 85), and is therefore only a trip-wire, with no certainty of what the trip-wire would set off, as the use both of tactical nuclear weapons and of the ultimate hydrogen deterrent are subject to United States decision, about which no commitment has been made. As the US might well hesitate to use the H-bomb, more particularly when the development of ICBMs has made its Western European air bases unnecessary, Britain had to develop the H-bomb itself. The conclusion is that military allies must operate "a common foreign policy" (and this, moreover, would have avoided the strains on NATO arising from Korea, Algeria and Cyprus, to say nothing of the unsolved problem of Germany).

The whole argument is based on an interpretation of Russia's actions in the years just after 1945 which has been sufficiently refuted in Kenneth Ingram's fair and lucid "History of the Cold War." It leads to a conclusion very different from that interpretation of a "moderating, modifying and mitigating diplomacy" which Mr. Gaitskell's Foreign-Secretary-designate has just been urging. We are left still not knowing quite which way Mr. Gaitskell will jump. His description of the difficulties of the Western alliance illustrates perfectly the impasse into which Western policy has led us, yet he does not acknowledge it.

On the other hand, he recognises that "security" is the key to the Russian outlook on Eastern Europe, and he has overcome his objections to the neutralisation of Germany if that is part of a larger withdrawal of forces. The fact that no Western statesman was ready to put forward, in the aftermath of Hungary, such creative proposals for resolving the European deadlock is not the least tragic of the consequences of Suez.

\* \* \*

This year the Chairman of the Burge Memorial Trustees has himself given the lecture—"Coexistence and the Conditions

October 25, 1957—PEACE NEWS—7

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### Standing Joint Pacifist Committee

## FORUM

Will meet Reg Reynolds (who has just returned from Japan) on Wednesday, October 30, 1957, at 6.15 p.m. at Small Meeting House Friends House, Euston Road, London, W.C.1.

by invitation of the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends.

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# DISARMAMENT

★ FROM  
PAGE ONE

I believe that this is what a careful analysis of the 780,000 votes for that policy reveals. If we deduct the votes of the unions we are left with roughly 65,000 CLP votes. This is three-quarters of the vote wielded by those parties which sent delegates to Brighton. (Many did not.)

What an astonishing vote! Far from being disappointing, it is immensely encouraging. Two years ago the advocates of disarmament by example were dismissed as a handful of pacifists. Yet this idea has grown so rapidly that today it has become a dominant motive inside the whole British Labour movement.

And it will continue to grow. For more and more thinking people are being driven to this conclusion by the growth in dreadfulness of modern weapons, which makes them impossible to use without bringing disaster to all sides (quite apart from the moral issue).

While we should welcome the resolutions which were carried at Brighton on foreign policy and on unilateral suspension of the tests—all important steps forward—only disarmament by example can save us now. The traditional method of seeking agreement has been tried—and has failed.

## The Labour Party and the H-bomb now

By EMRYS HUGHES MP

WHAT is the Labour Party in Parliament going to do now in the light of the decisions of the Brighton Conference?

At Brighton we unanimously passed a resolution urging the Parliamentary Labour Party to press the Government to give a moral lead to the world by announcing that no further nuclear tests will be undertaken by this country.

This was accepted by the Executive, and in one part of his speech Mr. Aneurin Bevan argued that this implied stopping the manufacture of the bomb and destroying stockpiles as well, though he then proceeded to cancel this out by opposing the more forthright Norwood resolution which sought to pledge the next Labour Government "to take the lead by itself refusing to continue to test, manufacture or use nuclear weapons, and that it will appeal to the peoples of the other countries to follow their lead."

To me, as to other pacifists, the reasons given by Mr. Bevan were familiar. They were the usual arguments which have been advanced over and over again in Parliament from both Front Benches that if we gave a unilateral lead in disarmament we would not be negotiating from strength.

All this was in complete contradiction with what Mr. Bevan has hitherto been saying in his speeches and articles on the subject of the H-bomb.

If complete repudiation of the H-bomb

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was likely to have all the awful consequences described by Mr. Bevan at Brighton why hadn't he warned us of all this before?

When Parliament opens we can expect the Labour Party to attack the Government's foreign policy and its record on disarmament. If Mr. Bevan makes the same speech and takes the same line as he did at Brighton it could be just as embarrassing for the Front Bench of the Labour Party as it could be for the Government.

For it is not likely that Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, after congratulating Mr. Bevan on his statesmanlike speech at Brighton will fail to ask the inevitable question: "How does the Labour Party explain that it is in favour of stopping testing the H-bomb but is in favour of its continued manufacture?"

### Moral lead

Once more we will be told, as we have been told in innumerable debates, that the pacifist position is understandable, logical and sincere, but that the policy of the Labour Front Bench is hopelessly contradictory.

**How can we possibly "press the Government to give a moral lead to the world by announcing that no further nuclear bomb tests will be undertaken by this country" and at the same time explain that we support the manufacture of the H-bomb but not its testing in order that we can be in a better position to argue at the conference table with Mr. Khrushchev?**

No, there is no real alternative to the pacifist policy of unilateral disarmament.

If you believe in giving a moral lead, then it must be a moral lead. Half a moral lead is just hypocrisy and political futility.

**Every argument that can be used for no further nuclear tests leads inevitably to the conclusion that there should be no manufacture of H-bombs either, and that the whole conception that you can defend yourself or your country by nuclear weapons and rockets in the atomic age has to be abandoned.**

Every day brings news which shows that a foreign policy based on H-bomb strategy is the direct road to suicide. That is what should and must be said from the Labour benches in the coming Parliament.

## Little Rock v. Montgomery

A NEGRO preacher who has had both his home and his church in Montgomery, Alabama, USA, blasted by explosives because of his work with the Rev. Martin Luther King in ending the colour bar on the city's buses, is to speak in Syracuse, New York, on Tuesday, Oct. 29.

The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy will tell an audience, invited to Park Central Presbyterian Church at 8 p.m. by the American Friends Service Council and the Syracuse Peace Council, how pacifist methods have succeeded in Montgomery.

Bills advertising the meeting in New York carry the title "Little Rock, Ark. vs Montgomery, Ala."

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By Sybil Morrison

## A SIMPLE MAN

*In a new war our soldiers and sailors and airmen will not be able to defend but only to avenge us . . . I do not wish, however, to labour that point . . . I do not believe that we will ever abolish war because we are afraid of its consequences . . . but I want to ask them (those who believe in war as a last resort) a question. I want to ask them, not : "Are you prepared to suffer all this?" but something which is much more serious and fundamental : "Are you prepared to inflict all this? Are you prepared to shower down on a defenceless city . . . this grim rain of torture and pestilence and death?" Those engaged in it will have, of course, the consolation—and the excuse—that their own mothers and sisters and wives and babies are being served in exactly the same way by the enemy . . . But I do not think they will persuade themselves very easily that they are heroes . . . And I do not know how they will make their peace with God.*

—WE SAY "NO". H. R. L. Sheppard, September, 1935.

IT is twenty years since Dick Sheppard died.

The fact that for all his ecclesiastical titles : Vicar of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Dean of Canterbury, Canon of St. Paul's, he was always known, not only to his friends, but even to those who never met him, simply as Dick Sheppard, was symbolic of his own simplicity.

He was pre-eminently a simple man, with a simple faith ; there was nothing complicated in his outlook, nothing complex in either his sermons or his writings. What he said was easy to understand ; he was a leader easy to follow, a man easy to love.

When he died, sitting at his desk, where he was found with his head bowed upon his hands, it was not only that the world was suddenly, and darkly, a poorer place, but that all who knew him were disastrously at a loss.

For the members of the Peace Pledge Union, who, from the beginning of its life, had depended upon him, turned to him, consulted him and loved him, it was so bitter and overwhelming a blow, that the mind could scarcely accept it.

The very simplicity of his faith, the complete lack of complicated deviations ; the straight-forward acceptance of problems and difficulties, made it easy to say at any moment of decision or doubt : "Let's ask Dick." And somehow he always knew the answer, and somehow he was always right.

In the vast darkness of his going, our groping hands stretched out helplessly, and our minds, caught off guard, still reiterated : "Let's ask Dick."

But the irrevocable fact remained ; never again could we ask him. We do not know what he would have said to-day, how he would have faced the modern horrors of a threatened nuclear war ; what he would have asked of the Peace Pledge Union.

He knew what courage and fortitude were needed, he knew how easy it would be to give way to the apathy of frustration ; he knew that in spite of all our efforts, 100,000 signatories were not enough to prevent war.

He knew that it was asking a great deal of men and women to stand firm against the stream of opposing opinion, holding together an organisation that could not compete with the glamour and excitement of war, nor with the more easily achieved aims

of other progressive movements.

Perhaps he even knew that the day would come when the Peace Pledge Union could no longer boast of 100,000 signatories, and would face the bleak fact that apathy had begun to dampen and obscure that first bright glow of crusading fire.

Nevertheless the flame that Dick Sheppard lit in the hearts of those who knew him, still burns in the movement for which he almost literally laid down his life.

The spark that he kindled can be kept alight by the pacifist movement, and the pacifist movement only ; his vision that it would become a conflagration to illuminate the world, can only be achieved through those who say with him : "War—We Say No."

A miracle perhaps, yet the miracle of life is with us every day, and miracles can happen. He would not have regarded it as an idealistic dream that the Peace Pledge Union, "indifferent to mockery, and undaunted by failure" should live to make his vision true.

His creed was pacifism ; his simple faith was in God ; his certain belief was in the victory of good over evil. It is twenty years since he died, but his faith still lives, and his work goes on.

## King-Hall • FROM PAGE TWO

standing of this matter, and that is why one has to keep on conceding that they so often have the initiative. Syria is the latest example.

I shall therefore say rather dogmatically that what we are chiefly trying to defend is our way of life

I can quote a Defence White Paper in support of this statement.

This is too vague to be of practical use as an object of defence. So we must see what our way of life amounts to. Here again is a theme for a book, but I must headline the subject by saying that it consists of two parts: The philosophy or ideas; and the institutions and apparatus needed to apply them in practice.

The essence of the philosophy is the importance of the individual. This is the root of the matter from which everything else stems and is the fundamental difference between the democratic and totalitarian conceptions of life.

To express the philosophy of the free way of life we have institutions of which the most important is Parliament, but there are thousands of others ranging from the free Press, the independent BBC, the Trades Unions, down to the discussion in the village pub.

These institutions are means to an end, the expression of the liberty of the individual.

I think it can be shown that the great war which is raging in the world today is an ideological conflict to decide whether the democratic or Communist way of life shall prevail universally—that is what is meant when the British White Papers on defence refer to Soviet policies of world domination.

I will sum up where we have got to. War is fundamentally a clash of ideas; the object of war is to change the enemy's mind and, either by persuasion or violence or a mixture of the two, cause him to abandon his ideas and accept ours; the clash of ideas now going on is between democracy and Communist ideas. The object of our defence is to defend our ideas or way of life against this Communist attack.

Next week: "The Role of Military Force."